

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TEHRAN 00555 01 OF 02 170721Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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P R 170550Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY  
SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6434  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEHRAN 0555

EXDIS

JERUSALEMFOR THE SECRETARY AND CODEL ZABLOCKI

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OREP (ZABLOCKI, CLEMENT J)  
SUBJ: CODEL ZABLOCKI VISIT TO IRAN, JAN 13-15

1. SUMMARY. CODEL ZABLOCKI HAD BRIEF, BUT USEFUL 45  
HOUR VISIT TO IRAN JAN 13-15. CODEL HAD AUDIENCE  
WITH HIM, AS WELL AS MEETINGS WITH MIN OF COURT  
HOVEYDA, CHIEF SCS GEN AZHARI, AND VMOW GEN  
TOUFANIAN. MFA UNDERSECY ZELLI GAVE DINNER FOR  
CODEL, AND GROUP ALSO PAID VERY BRIEF VISIT TO KHATAMI  
AIR BASE OUTSIDE ISFASHAN TO SEE IIAF F-14 PROGRAM.  
HIGHLIGHT OF VISIT, OF COURSE, WAS AUDIENCE WITH SHAH,  
WHICH FOCUSED ON MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT ISSUES AND  
PROSPECTS FOR PEACE. SHAH DESCRIBED HIS EFFORTS  
TO FACILITATE AND SUPPORT PROCESS TOWARDS THAT  
END. CODEL MADE CLEAR IT SUPPORTED SUCH EFFORT  
BY SHAH. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 TEHRAN 00555 01 OF 02 170721Z

2. AUDIENCE WITH SHAH WENT EXTREMELY WELL.  
DISCUSSION WAS FRANK AND CANDID ON BOTH SIDES, AND  
ALTHOUGH CODEL VIEWS ON PRINCIPLE SUBJECT DISCUSSED--  
MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT AND PEACE PROSPECTS--ARE NOT  
UNANIMOUS, CODEL WAS UNANIMOUS IN ITS SUPPORT OF  
SHAH'S EFFORTS TO PLAY POSITIVE, CATALYTIC ROLE IN  
ANY WAY POSSIBLE. SHAH MADE CLEAR HE COMPLETELY

SUPPORTS SADAT'S INITIATIVE, AND DOES NOT BELIEVE ISRAELI RESPONSE TO DATE ADEQUATE. IN ANSWER TO QUERY SHAH SAID THAT HE HAS MADE HIS JUDGMENT AS TO INADEQUACY OF ISRAELI RESPONSE TO DATE PRECISELY CLEAR TO THE GOVT OF ISRAEL, EVEN SUGGESTING THAT ISRAEL GIVES EVERY APPEARANCE OF HAVING MASSADA COMPLEX. WHEN ASKED ABOUT ISRAELI REACTION

TO HIS CURRENT JUDGMENT A(AND THIS POINT WAS CONFIRMED SEVERAL TIMES BY CODEL MEMBERS DURING AUDIENCE) THE SHSH RESPONDED, "I AM STILL WAITING".

3. SHAH'S OPENING REMARKS, WHICH ESSENTIALLY COVERED THE COMPLEX OF MIDDLE EAST ISSUES, UNDERScoreD HIS VIEW OF SADAT INITIATIVE AS BOLD AND COURAGEOUS, AND DESERVING OF FULL SUPPORT. WITH RESPECT TO QUESTION OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS THE SHAH SAID THEY ARE CERTAINLY ILLEGAL; HE COULD NOT SEE HOW A STABLE SETTLEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED IF SETTLEMENTS ARE PERMITTED TO CONTINUE. THE SHAH MADE CLEA THAT BREAKDOWN OF PROCESS STARTED BY SADAT TRIP TO JERUSALEM WOULD LEAD TO DEEPLY SERIOUS SITUATION, AND WOULD BE GRAVE BLOW TO WORLD PEACE. SHAH SAID SADAT'S INITIATIVE MUST NOT FAIL BECAUSE IF IT DOES RESULTING SITUATION WOULD BE DOMINATED BY THE RADICALS.

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PAGE 03 TEHRAN 00555 01 OF 02 170721Z

4. SHAH WAS ALSO ASKED IF IRAN WOULD CONSIDER CUTTING OIL FLOW TO ISRAEL AS MEANS OF APPLYING PRESSURE ON ISRAELIS TOWARDS MAKING ADEQUATE RESPONSE TO SADAT INITIATIVE. ALTHOUGH HE HAS ALWAYS TAKEN POSITION IN THE PAST THAT IRAN WOULD NEVER USE OIL FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES, SHAH RESPONDED THAT SUCH A MOVE MIGHT HAVE SOME IMPACT BUT ISRAEL COULD PROBABLY FIND ALTERNATE SOURCE OF SUPPLY. SHAH WENT ON TO SAY THAT SIMILAR SITUATION WOULD PERTAIN IF US, WHICH SUPPLIES MLARGE MAJORITY OF KEY ISRAELI MILITARY EQUIPMENT, WERE TO ATTEMPT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL BY DIMINISHING OR CUTTING THAT ARMS SUPPLY. SHAH WAS ASKED ABOUT JOINT US-IRAN PRESSURE ON ISRAEL COVERING BOTH ARMS AND OIL, AND REPLIED THAT HE THOUGHT COORDINATED EFFORT IN THAT DIRECTION BY BOTH IRAN AND US WOULD BE EFFECTIVE. COMMENT: WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER OIL SUPPLY AS MEANS OF PRESSURE WHICH, AS NOTED ABOVE, TOTALLY CONTRARY TO SHAH'S PRIOR POSITION EMPHATICALLY UNDERSCORES HIS PESSIMISTIC FOREBODING AS T CONSEQUENCES SHOULD SADAT

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 TEHRAN 00555 02 OF 02 170737Z  
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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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P R 170550Z JAN 78  
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TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM PRIORITY  
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SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6435  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TEHRAN 0555

EXDIS

JERUSALEMFOR THE SECRETARY AND CODEL ZABLOCKI

INITIATIVE BE THWARTED. END COMMENT.

5. SHAH AFFIRMED POINT MADE BY AMB IN  
BRIEFING CODEL AT OUTSET OF THEIR IRANIAN VISIT,  
THAT HIS RELATIONS WITH PRES CARTER ARE  
EXCELLENT, AND THAT WARM AND TOTALLY CORDIAL WAY  
IN WHICH THEY HAVE SO QUICKLY DEVELOPED DELIGHTS  
HIM.  
HE IS BULLISH ABOUT US-IRAN BILATERAL  
RELATIONS, AND CLEARLY FEELS THERE IS NO QUESTION  
NOT SUSCEPTIBLE TO MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY SOLUTION  
BECAUSE OF WARMTH, CANDOR AND PERSONAL UNDERSTANDING  
THAT ANIMATE HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRES.

6. ON SUBJECT OF OIL SHAH REHEARSED KNOWN VIEWS,  
INCLUDING THAT HIS DECISION TO TAKE LEAD IN EFFORT  
TO GET OPEC AGREEMENT TO OIL PRICE FREEZE FOR ONE  
YEAR WAS BASED ON HIS JUDGMENT THAT US NOW SERIOUS  
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PAGE 02 TEHRAN 00555 02 OF 02 170737Z

WITH RESPECT TO ESTABLISHING SENSIBLE ENERGY PROGRAM.

SHAH MADE CLEAR HIS HOPE THAT EFFORTS TO STOP FIGHTING IN HORN OF AFRICA WOULD ACHIEVE EARLY SUCCESS, AND THAT SOVIET EFFORTS TO SUPPORT RADICAL ELEMENTS AND SOW INSTABILITY IN AFRICA WOULD THEREBY BE BLUNTED.

7. MIN OF COURT HOVEYDA DESCRIBED FOR CODEL IRANIAN EFFORTS AT INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT, AND DIFFICULT PROBLEMS THIS INVOLVED. HE MADE CLEAR THAT IRAN WOULD NOT PERMIT DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS TO BE DESTROYED BY RADICAL ELEMENTS THAT ARE, INDEED, NOT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MAJORITY OF IRANIANS, AT SAME TIME HE STRESSED THAT IRAN SUPPORTS HUMAN RIGHTS AND THEIR POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT. HE HOPED IT WOULD BE RECOGNIZED, HOWEVER, THAT HUMAN RIGHTS MIGHT NOT BE VIEWED IDENTICALLY EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD. HOVEYDA SAID EVERYTHING ONE READS OR HEARS ABOUT IRAN, AS WITH MANY PLACES, MAY BE FAR FROM ACCURATE PICUTRE. HE POINTED OUT, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT IRAN, IN RESPONSE TO POLITICAL PRISONER ASSERTIONS, HAD INVITED INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS TO VISIT JAILS AND THAT SUCH INVITATION WAS ALWAYS OPEN. BEST MEANS OF LEARNING OABOUT SITUATION IN IRAN, HOVEYDA CONCLUDED, IS THROUGH VISITS SUCH AS CODEL, WHICH HE WARMLY ENCOURAGED.

8. GENRALS AZHARI AND TOUFANIAN HAD FRANK, CANDID SESSIONS WITH CODEL. AZHARI, STRESSING THAT HE WISHED HIS REPLY TO BE TREATED CONFIDENTAILLY (TO WHICH REQUEST CODEL AGREED), SAID THAT MAIN THREAT TO IRAN IS USSR, AND THIS THREAT MANIFESTS ITSELF NOT ONLY FROM THE NORTH BUT ALSO FROM THE WEST (USING CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TEHRAN 00555 02 OF 02 170737Z

IRAQ AND SYRIA AS SURROGATES) AND FROM THE EAST (THROUGH EFFORTS TO SOW INSTABILITY IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN). AZHARI UNDERSCORED, AS HAD HOVEYDA, THAT IRAN HAS NO INTEREST IN MORE TERRITORY (HOVEYDA STATED, "IRAN HAS MORE THAN ENOUGH SAND ALREAD")., AND THAT IRAN'S ONLY AIM IS TO HAVE ADEQUATE CAPABILITY TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST EVERY BEING OCCUPIED OR UNDER OUTSIDE DOMINATION AGAIN.

9. GEN TOUFANIAN EXPRESSED IRQN' THANKS FOR FOR US ASSISTANCE IN PAST, AND THE HOPE THAT THE US WOULD IN FUTURE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT IRAN'S MILITARY MODERNIZATION EFFORT TOWARDS AN ADEQUATE DEFENSE FORCE. HE POINTED OUT THAT IRAN NOT TOTALLY DEPENDENT ON US FOR ARMS, ALTHOUGH PREFERRED POSSIBILITIES FOR TOTAL PACKAGE APPROACH WHICH

UNIQUELY AVAILABLE FROM US. SESSION WITH TOUFANIAN  
WAS LEAST NOURISHING OF VISIT, PERHAPS IN PART  
BECAUSE IT FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY AFTER AUDIENCE AND  
LUNCHEON WITH SHAH BOTH OF WHICH WERE OF THREE STAR  
QUALITY. ADDITIONALLY, TOUFANIAN'S ENGLISH  
COMPREHENSION AND FACILITY WERE NOT UP TO STANDARD AND  
AT SEVERAL POINTS DURING DISCUSSION THERE SEEMED  
CLEAR CULTURAL GAP.

10. IRAN VISIT WE BELIVE PROVIDED USEFUL INCREMENTAL  
FRACTION TO CODEL EFFORT TO GAIN AN ACCURATE  
UNDERSTANDING OF CURRENT SITUATION RELATED TO MIDDLE  
EAST SETTLEMENT AND PROSPECTS FOR STABLE PEACE.  
SULLIVAN

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## Message Attributes

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